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TRANSLATIONS FROM THE MANCHU,

WITH THE ORIGINAL TEXTS,

PREFACED BY

AN ESSAY ON THE LANGUAGE.

BY

THOMAS TAYLOR MEADOWS,

INTERPRETER TO H. B. M's CONSULATE AT CANTON.

Canton.

PRESS OF S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

1849.

清文彙書

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清文敘畧

道光二十九年英人密迪樂纂譯

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Thomas William Lockwood Mackeau, Esq. J. P.

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A SLIGHT MARK OF THE ESTEEM OF THE WRITER.

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PREFACE.

The Manchu language was first brought to the notice of the learned in Europe by the labors of the French missionaries who resided in Peking during the reigns of the first four Emperors of the Manchu family that now governs China. A grammar in Latin, the work of P. Gerbillon was sent to France and printed in 1696; but the language does not appear to have been studied in Europe until after the publication of a grammar and dictionary by P. Amyot which appeared in 1787–1789 in the French language. Since then various works by Langlès, Klaproth, Rémusat, and Gabelentz, have been successively published in Paris and in Germany; but from an examination of several catalogues of the works on the languages of Eastern Asia (one expressly furnished by a large oriental bookseller in London), it appears that no English work has yet been published on the Manchu, and as those above alluded to, besides being in foreign languages, are now, most of them, rare, I may hope for an indulgent welcome to the following attempt to introduce to the notice of my countrymen generally the language of a people who for 200 years have held China and its dependencies in subjection; whom we have lately met both as foes and as friends, and found by no means despicable in either character; and with whom the events of coming years will probably bring us into still closer and more constant connection.

The texts translated have been selected with the double view of giving specimens of different kinds of documents, and at the same time of throwing some light on the system of government by which the Manchus are ruled. Each one of the first five, the Imperial Edicts, forms the basis of an existing law of the Empire. The Chinese codes are interspersed with many such edicts, each entering at greater or

less length into the reasons for making a law or set of regulations. In so far they are analogous to the more conclusive of our recorded parliamentary speeches on bills which have become laws; and I know of no way in which the mind can be so thoroughly imbued with a sense of the spirit of Chinese legislation, of the general principles of Chinese government, as by the perusal of a number of them. The few translated here having been selected chiefly on account of their exclusive relation to the Manchus, must not be regarded as specimens of the best of these documents.

The "Sacred Edict" is one of the sixteen state sermons or exhortations, the composition of the Emperor Yungchêng appointed to be read periodically by the mandarins to the people.

At the literary examinations in China, the only paper each student is allowed to take into the Examination Hall, is a long sheet furnished by the government, on a fixed portion of which he makes his draft, and on the other portion writes the fair copy of his essay. The last of the documents given here is taken from the examplar sheet sent by the Ritual Board at Peking to all the stations of Manchu garrisons on the establishment of the examinations noticed at page 29. The examplar sheet itself is 13 inches high and 29 feet long, folded like a screen into breadths of 4½ inches. That portion allotted for the fair copy is ruled with red lines.

With a view to the assistance of the student, the translations have been made as literal as the different structure of the two languages permitted, without doing positive violence to the English idiom.

The short account in the Essay of the origin and progress of the Manchu as a written language, is, where other authority is not mentioned, based on the few meagre notices to be found in the history of the present dynasty, entitled *Tung Gwah Lu*."

T. T. M.

Canton, 5th October, 1849.

NATURE OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE.

The Manchu language grammatically considered holds a middle place between the Chinese and the languages of modern Europe, but has, on the whole, a greater similarity to the latter than to the former.

All the words in the language are composed of six vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *ô*, *u*, and *o*; and nineteen consonants, *n*, *ng*, *k'*, *k*, *gh*, *p*, *p'*, *s*, *sh*, *t'*, *t*, *l*, *m*, *ch'*, *ch*, *y*, *r*, *f*, and *w*. Most of these letters have three forms, all of them two; which are used according as the letter stands at the commencement, the middle, or the end of a word; and the *k'*, *k*, *gh*, *t'*, and *t*, have each two *sets* of forms, the use of which depends on the kind of vowel that follows.* The Manchu has therefore its alphabet, though somewhat more complicated in form than those of European languages. And though the people have, it is true, not exhausted its capabilities, still the reflections contained in the following paragraph of Langlès are certainly not correct. "What

* There are a few more consonants invented solely to express the strange sounds in words adopted from the Chinese. They are very rarely used.

was my astonishment," he says, "on opening the pamphlet *(cahier)* which father Amyot has called a MANCHU ALPHABET, to find a syllabary *(syllabaire)*, composed of more than fourteen hundred groups. Such is, in fact, the only alphabet which the Manchus know, and which their children learn singing *(chantant)*, and often I believe crying." The Manchu children, when learning the pronunciation of the syllables by repeating them in a singing tone, do nothing but what English children do daily. Most of us have some remembrance of the weariness and loathing with which we hummed and thumbed over our syllabary, with its *ba*, *be*, *bo*, *bu*; *fa*, *fe*, *fo*, *fu*, &c., &c. And when we take into calculation such syllables as *dread*, *friend*, *bring*, *spring*, *fringe*, *plunge*, *fraught*, *blight*, *plump*, &c., all of which the English boy must learn orally before he can read his own language, I am inclined to think that our syllabary will be found to contain still more groups of letters than that of the Manchus.

The Manchu "Twelve Classes of syllables," which Langlès refers to, is in short, a spelling-book, which it is not necessary for grown foreigners to go through, for the same reason that it is unnecessary for us to go through a French spelling-book on learning that language: we have already in learning our own language acquired a knowledge of the powers of consonants when joined to vowels. Consonants have of themselves strictly speaking no sound; and if an English boy after learning the *names* of the letters in the alphabet, were shown the simple word *for*, and told to pronounce the letters "all together," his best effort would probably result in *effoar*.

It is not the case that the Manchus are, as Langlès affirms, ignorant of the division of their syllables into letters: the first chapter of the Manchu-Chinese Gram-

mar called *Ching-wân Chi-mûng*, proves the contrary; but they have certainly not employed it to the full extent of its capabilities for the purpose of transcribing foreign words; and Manchu boys when learning, instead of saying *l*, *a—la*; *l*, *o—lo*; &c., are taught at once to say *la*, *lo*, &c. Many more syllables than are contained in their syllabary might be formed with their letters, but they are not accustomed to arrange them otherwise than as they there stand. They make, for instance, no such use of the consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*, as we do when we call them liquid; hence if the Manchu letters *s*, *m*, *a*, *r*, *t*, be joined in that order as ᠰᠮᠠᡵᡨ a Manchu is not able to pronounce them as we do the word *smart*.

The Manchus in writing begin, like Europeans, at the top of the page and at the left corner, but the columns run, as in the Chinese, perpendicularly down the page instead of horizontally across it. Formerly it seems the Manchus were in the habit of occasionally using a pen made of a piece of small bamboo, much as we make our's of goose quills, but at present they almost always employ a hair pencil which they fill with Chinese (Indian) ink rubbed up on a small pallet or inkstone of slate, precisely as the Chinese do.

The Manchus, like the Chinese, print by means of wooden blocks, the surfaces of which are first made perfectly level and smooth, and then cut away to the depth of about a quarter of an inch, with the exception of the words to be printed, which are thus made to stand out in relief. Their printed character does not differ from the written more than our italic type does from our running-hand. In addresses to the Emperor, the copyists imitate the printed character as closely as possible; in all other kinds of correspondence, official or private, the running-hand is used.

The Manchu is a harsh sounding language, owing to the very frequent occurrence of the guttural *gh*, of *r*, and of the aspirated consonants *k'*, *t'*, and *ch'*.*

Orthographically considered, the Manchu stands therefore, as already stated, between the languages of Western Europe and the Chinese. The same appears the case when we consider it etymologically. The definite article is wanting, but all other parts of speech comprised within the English language are to be found in some shape in the Manchu. The cases of substantives are formed, like those of the English and Chinese, by means of particles, which are however invariably placed after the words they affect. A Manchu says "*man to*," "*place at*;" not "*to the man*," "*at the place*." One decided superiority that the Manchu has over the English is the possession of a particle, *pe*, which shows that the substantive which precedes it is in the accusative case. It has plural terminations equivalent to our *s*, but they are only used after nouns denoting living beings. The plural of words denoting inanimate objects is either expressed by words resembling our *all*, *every*, &c., or it must be gathered from the context that they are in the plural.

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* In fixing on letters of our alphabet to represent those of the Manchu, I have been guided by the pronunciation given in the Imperial Dictionary. This is indeed not a perfect authority, because the paucity of sounds in the Chinese makes it impossible to give the pronunciation of foreign words correctly. But it is sanctioned by the grammar of Gerbillon as translated by Amyot, both of whom had ample opportunity of hearing the correct pronunciation, and were perfectly able to give it in writing; and it is corroborated by the Peking Manchus whom I have met here. Having once fixed on an English letter to represent a Manchu one, I have invariably employed it even when the word is not pronounced as it is written. When we transcribe the German word **Mehrere**, we write *Mehrere*, not *Mayrerih*.

There is nothing to attract attention in the personal pronouns, the cases of which are formed with the same particles used for substantives; unless it be that the fact of our possessing the accusatives *me*, *thee*, *him*, *us*, and *them*, is the cause of a greater analogy between the Manchu and English personal pronouns, than between most of the other parts of speech in the two languages. There is also nothing characteristic in the Manchu cardinal numbers, from which their ordinals are formed by the addition of *ch'i*, equivalent to our *th*, and the French *ème*: thus *suncha*, *five*, becomes *sunchach'i*, *fifth*. There is a coincidence worthy of remark about the formation of the first two ordinals: it is irregular as in French and English. The cardinals *one* and *two*, are in Manchu *emu* and *chuwe*; the ordinals *first* and *second*, are in Manchu *uchu* and *chai*.

With respect to the conjunctions, to those parts of speech which we call prepositions, to adverbs, and to interjections, there is likewise nothing particular to remark on, except that the *pre*-positions are *post*-positions in Manchu, that the number of conjunctions is small, and that the conjunction *and*, so much used in our languages, is wanting in the Manchu.

The most characteristic part of the language, etymologically considered, is formed by the verbs and their modifying particles, whether of tense or mood. The only other peculiarity of much importance lies in the construction of sentences. To acquire a knowledge of the true nature and uses of the particles employed to modify verbs, and of the order in which the words of a sentence stand in relation to each other, is the most difficult task to be mastered by the student of Manchu.

The simplest part of the Manchu verbs is, as in our languages, that which commands a person addressed to

do what is expressed by the verb, in other words the imperative of the second person. According to the vowel in which the simplest form ends, the Manchu verbs are arranged under four conjugations, the differences between which are, however, merely a matter of orthography and easily mastered. In order to express the different relations of time and mood, the Manchu has (exclusive of the adverbs of time) a number of affixes and of separate particles, analogous in their uses to our *ed*, *ing*, *have*, *had*, *shall*, *will*, *was*, *can*, *might*, *could*, &c.; such as *mpi*, *pighe*, *gha*, *ghapi*, *ra*, *ch'i*, *mpime*, *ki*, *kini*, *fi*, *me*, *ome*, *te*, &c. But though they are analogous collectively considered, individually taken, it is scarcely possible to single out one exactly parallel in its uses to any one of those existing in English; while the most when affixed to the root of the verb modify its signification in a way very different from that which the name given by the French grammarians to the particular form leads us to expect. Thus, they say that the present is formed by adding *mpi* to the root; as *t'uwampi*, from *t'uwa*, *inspect;* and the future by the addition of *ra* as *t'uwara*, *will inspect*, from the same root. But this present form very often expresses future time, while the future form, though constantly occurring, scarcely ever indicates future time. Gabelentz in his Grammar draws attention especially to this circumstance, nevertheless that portion of his very valuable work which treats of verbs appears the part most susceptible of improvement. It seems to me that the subject might be handled in a way more congenial to the true nature of the Manchu verbs, and consequently less embarrassing and obscure to the student.*

* I can not help suspecting that the first Europeans who treated of Manchu grammar, Frenchmen, were misled by the similarity which

The Manchus have a number of particles which affixed to the roots of verbs alter *their sense*; thus, *na* adds to the signification of the words to which it is joined the idea of *going*; as from *alampi*, *to inform*, is made *alanampi*, *go to inform*; *ch'e* adds the idea of aggregation to the original, as from *inchempi*, *to laugh*, is formed *inchech'empi*, *to laugh together*, &c. The reader will however perceive that these are not particles of tense or mood, but that they are analogous to our prefixes *dis*, *mis*, *re*, *un*, &c., which with the verbs *inherit*, *apprehend*, *enter*, and *deceive*, form *disinherit*, *misapprehend*, *reënter*, and *undeceive*. They form entirely new verbs conveying meanings different, and sometimes opposite, to those of the original words. The particles alluded to, *na*, *ch'e* &c., can not therefore be regarded as peculiar to the language; though the regularity with which each is joined to, and changes the meaning of the same root, may be noticed as one of its characteristic features.

Of the strictly grammatical particles affixed to verbs, there are two which from the frequency of their occurrence deserve special notice. These are *fi* and *me*. The first shows that the action expressed by the verb either causes or precedes that expressed in the next following sentence: it denotes either causation or antecedence. The second is used in all but the last of two or more simple sentences standing together, whose verbs are in the same time and mood, the last alone containing the particles which show the tense and mood of the verb in each. Now as the verb in Manchu always stands after its subject and object, with its particles of time and mood after

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the form of the Manchu verb that ends in *ra* has to the French future, so as to call that the *future* which would have been better designated by some different name.

it again, it follows that the language is highly periodic in its structure, and in so far energetic. The sense of a sentence remains suspended till its very end. Employment for the memory without any for the mind—words without ideas are first given; till at length by the utterance of two or three syllables sudden life is infused into all that has preceded. This is well known to be an important element of energy in language. Ideas, instead of being dealt out piecemeal with tedious continuity, are communicated complete by instantaneous flashes; the different effects of which two methods on the mind resemble those produced by two men, of whom one constantly speaks but seldom says anything, the other speaks little but says much.

The Manchu is a pure tongue, not like the English made up of words taken from the languages of at least six different nations. In this respect it resembles the German, and like the German it possesses in consequence the powers for the formation of new homogeneous words in a higher degree than any composite language possibly can. Its borrowings are chiefly from the Chinese, but, when we consider the circumstances under which the two people have so long stood with respect to each other, we can not but pronounce them extremely few.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE MANCHU WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

When the family which now reigns in China had from being merely the chiefs of a clan in the eastern extremity of Asia conquered so many of the tribes around them as to come into contact with the Mongol princes and with the Chinese, they at first used the languages of these people in their correspondence, the Manchu being as yet merely an oral tongue. At length, however, a desire arose in the mind of the sovereign known as Tiênming, that his own language should be reduced to writing, and accordingly in the 36th year of the cycle in which he reigned, A. D. 1599, he gave orders to Erteni and Kakai, two scholars* learned in the Mongolian, to form characters for the Manchu, taking those used for the Mongolian as their basis. They urged difficulties, but the emperor, who seems to have been a man of original mind, declared that there was no difficulty; that they had only to use the Mongolian syllables to gave the Manchu sounds, which joined together would form words and sentences whose meaning would of course be apparent to Manchus from their sound. This was accordingly done, and the new written language thus invented published for the information of all Manchus. The

* In the Chinese they are entitled 巴克什 *pa-kŏ-shi*, which is a transcription of the Mongolian word ᠪᠠᠭᠰᠢ *bakshi*, teacher, or doctor. See Schmidt's Mongol, German and Russian Dictionary, page 99.

writing as then used was however not so perfect an instrument for the representation of sounds as that at present employed. It labored under a disadvantage to this day incident to the Mongolian: vowel and consonantal sounds, quite different, and which it was therefore highly expedient to distinguish on paper, were written in exactly the same manner. Thus the sounds *a*, *e*, and *n* were all represented by ᠠ ; the sounds *k*', *k*, and *gh* by ᠬ ; just as in the Mongolian to this day the sounds *e* and *a* are represented by ᠡ ; *o* and *u* by ᠣ; and *k* and *g* by ᠭ ; so that long practice is necessary in order to enable the learner to pronounce correctly words in that language which he sees written.

I have in my possession a Manchu coin which corroborates what the historians say on this point. The following is a representation of its obverse; the reverse is the same without the inscription.

It is a copper coin with a square hole in the middle, like that known as a "cash" in China, but having only Manchu characters on it. These are now written

ᠠᠪᡴᠠᡳ ᡶᡠᠯᡳᠩᡤᠠ ᡥᠠᠨ ᠵᡳᡥᠠ

apk'ai fulingka ghan chigha, *i. e.* Coin of the Emperor Heavenly Destiny (or Lot);* the second word having

* In Chinese, Tiênming. The term in both languages implies that the person referred to is specially favored by heaven. As 1626 was the last year of Tiênming, this coin is now upwards of 223 years old.

two points, the third and fourth each a small circle not attached to the corresponding words on the coin. As they stand on the latter, a Manchu would at present probably read them *Apk'ai fôlingk'a k'an chik'a* (or *chinan*); unless his previous education enabled him to detect and supply the deficiencies.

It was not until 1632 that the Emperor Tiêntsûng directed the *bakshi*, or doctor Taghai, who had already, in 1629, been appointed the chief of a commission for the translation of Chinese books, to remedy these deficiencies; which he did effectually. Since then the writing has remained unaltered, and the attention of the Manchu sovereigns has been unremittingly directed to the formation of a literature, by having Manchu as well as Chinese versions of all the laws of their dynasty prepared simultaneously, and by having a large number of standard Chinese works carefully translated.* Other works have been translated by private individuals. A second object which has constantly engaged the earnest attention of the Court, is the collection of all words existing in the oral language, and the invention of new ones in consonance with its structure, where such were wanting to express abstract ideas, or the names of things previously unknown to the Manchus. More will be found on this head where I speak of the dictionaries; in the meantime I may add here that we have proof that

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* The particulars given in the text are (as stated in the preface) taken from Chinese books. The following extract from a work on Mongolia by Hyakinth, a monk who resided in Peking as member of the Russian Mission from 1807 till 1821, shows that all the Tibetan sacred books have also been translated into Manchu under Imperial superintendence:

"Zu Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts sind durch eine, bei dem Chinesischen Hof errichtete, besondere Commission alle Tibetische heilige Bücher indie Mongolische und Mandschurische Sprache übersetzt worden."

the invention of new terms still goes on. In the autumn of 1848, a report made to the Emperor by the Ordnance Department in Peking respecting the fabrication by them of percussion caps, was published in the Gazette, in which His Majesty was requested to give a Manchu name to the percussion guns, a species of weapon previously unknown to his countrymen.*

The exclusive policy of the later Manchu sovereigns, and their fear of the spread of the Christian religion among their subjects, has led them to take earnest steps for preventing foreigners from acquiring their language. An edict issued on this subject in the 10th year of of Chiachêng (1805) is given at length in the 868th chapter of the "Collected Statutes of the Chinese Empire." The Emperor there states that he had repeatedly issued edicts prohibiting intercourse between the Manchus and the western foreigners at Peking, and the publication of the doctrines of the latter by means of books in Manchu. He then proceeds to comment on several passages of these books, two of which particularly excite his indignation. The first runs, "To obey the commands of parents in opposition to the commands of God is most impious. The holy virgin Barbara having refused obedience to the rebellious commands of her unrighteous father, he slew her with his own hand, upon which God in his just anger struck him dead with fierce lightning. Let parents, relatives, and friends who hinder men from serving the Lord take this as a warn-

* In Europe, under such circumstances, we generally adopt the name the new article bears in the country from which it is introduced. Thus the French, since the introduction of railways into their country, have adopted the English word *waggon*. The plan of the Manchus has the advantage of preventing the increase of strange sounds in their tongue.

ing." The doctrine inculcated in this extract is totally at variance with the precepts of Confucius on filial obedience which have obtained such universal authority in China, and the Emperor accordingly calls it "the mad baying of dogs."

The second most objectionable passage quoted runs: "At that time there was a peiise (prince) who passed all his days in doing wickedness. His fuchin (the princess, his wife) admonished him with all her strength, but he would not listen to her. On a certain day a troop of devils dragged the peiise down to hell; and God revealed to his fuchin, ~~that~~ because of her virtuous acts,* her husband would undergo eternal sufferings in a sea of fire: a proof that those who will not listen to virtuous admonitions will not escape the everlasting punishment of God." The Manchu word *peiise* means the fourth male descendant, or great-great-grandson of an Emperor, of which princes there is a considerable number in Peking; and Chiachêng seems to have been much disgusted at the insult to these personages contained in the above extract. After remarking that foreigners could only learn such titles as *peiise* and *fuchin* through conversation with Manchus, he adds with grave earnestness, that "what is said about a peiise having been dragged into hell by devils is a baseless fabrication, without a shadow of foundation." His Majesty's subjects must not believe that peiise are dealt with so unceremoniously!

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* This seems a strange reason to allege, but it is that given in the original.

USEFULNESS OF THE MANCHU.

The following is the testimony on this point of father Amyot, author of the Manchu-French Dictionary, as it is given in the preface to his translation of Chiênlung's Eulogy of Mukten:

"The knowledge of this language gives free access to the Chinese literature of every age. There is no good Chinese book which has not been translated into Manchu; these translations have been made by learned academies, by order and under the auspices of the sovereigns from Shunchi to Chiênlung, they have been revised and corrected by other academies not less learned, the members of which were perfectly acquainted both with the Chinese language and the language of the Manchus. What a difference between such translations and the translations made by foreigners, who can only have but a very imperfect knowledge of the language with which they occupy themselves! For myself I confess that if I only had my knowledge of Chinese, I should not have been able to get through what I had undertaken. The Manchu language is in the style of our European languages; it has its customs and its rules; in a word, one sees clearly in it."

Langlès, the Parisian editor of Amyot's Dictionary, and writer of an "Alphabet Mandchou," quotes these opinions of Amyot in several places. He states, further, that the French missionaries at Peking "never speak but with dread of the discouraging difficulties which the study of the Chinese presents, while all congratulate

themselves, on the contrary, on the extreme facility with which they have learned the Manchu. Father Mailla confesses that the Manchu version of the Tung chiên Kang-mu* has been of great service to him in translating this great history into French."

These views of Langlès and Amyot are severely censured by the Russian Leontiew in his "Letters on the Manchu literature." He calls them false, ridiculous, and without foundation. He denies that "there is no good Chinese work which has not been translated into Manchu," and that "the language is in the style of our European languages;" further he maintains "that it is a very difficult language to learn."

Now Leontiew certainly seems to have possessed a sound, practical knowledge both of the Chinese and of the Manchu; but his Letters, &c., is merely a bitter critique of the labors of Langlès, called forth by the ostentatious manner, coupled with the scanty real knowledge of the latter, and a dispassionate view of the subject leads us to the conclusion that the spirit of antagonism has carried him too far. Amyot's language is indeed apt to make us hope for more advantages from a knowledge of Manchu than it really affords, but it is equally certain that Leontiew has underrated those advantages. The latter himself says that as "China is now under the domination of the Manchus, it is evident that the knowledge of the language of this people can not but be very useful to those who occupy themselves with Chinese literature;" and while pointing out many Chinese books not (then) translated into Manchu, he indicates a number of very important works of which Manchu versions exist.

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* The Chinese title of a General History of China which Mailla translated.

Rémusat has, I believe, also passed an unfavorable judgment on the value of the Manchu, in so far as the translations into it serve to explain obscure passages of the Chinese originals. Many of these are made in so slavish a manner that the vague expressions of the Chinese are rendered by others equally vague in the Manchu. But Leontiew admits that this obscurity exists only in books written in a somewhat elevated style, and that the fault is less remarked in historical works. He might have added (what is of more importance for the practical man, and especially for the official translator) that it is little observed in the translations of the Chinese Imperial codes and edicts, which alone form several hundreds of volumes.

When the opinions I have just quoted were put forth, an accurate knowledge of the Chinese was of little practical use. So long as the exact meaning of phrases or words in that language was merely a matter of dispute between literary men in Europe, the British government and Englishmen generally could afford to disregard the subject. The discussions, though interesting and in their ultimate results highly useful, had no immediate practical bearing. But this state of things began to alter on the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly in China, and during the subsequent discussions with the mandarins that led to the late Chinese war. It altogether ceased to exist when the Chinese version of the Nanking Treaty was being prepared, and from that time to the present day an accurate knowledge of the exact meaning and force of Chinese words has been a matter of constantly increasing importance. An ambiguous expression, or an error in a public document, may, by its influence on commerce, be almost directly productive of grave consequences to the private fortunes of a large

portion of our countrymen. Should anything be neglected that will tend in future to obviate errors and ambiguities so mischievous?

I need hardly dwell on the ease with which disputes arise out of misapprehension. The whole English people, by attaching the meaning of "quarrel" to the word "misunderstanding," has distinctly declared the almost unavoidable connection between the two things. Now, some years back, the Chinese were compelled to give way in disputes by the dread of the bayonet, which appeared to be constantly in readiness to force us a passage through difficulties, however created; but the mandarins have since learned that we are not always at liberty to fix it for that purpose, and it accordingly behoves us, for our own sakes, to give no occasion for the detrimental "misunderstandings" alluded to.

On the above grounds alone, the study of the Manchu becomes of some importance; for a comparison of the Manchu and Chinese versions of the Imperial codes, ordinances, and edicts, certainly does throw light on many of the characteristic obscurities of the latter of these languages. By this means we learn the true force of several frequently recurring Chinese idioms, and acquire the habit of correctly supplying words frequently omitted in Chinese sentences, but absolutely necessary in the corresponding sentences of other languages; by this means we learn to know which one of the verbs in each complex sentence is to be regarded as the chief; whether words that often occur in couplets are to be rendered separately or form compounds; under what circumstances nouns are to be taken in the accusative or dative cases; when they are to be rendered in the plural, when in the singular number. The earnest student of Chinese will consider these facts alone a

strong recommendation of the Manchu. The richness and flexibility of the Chinese is indeed amply adequate, and its grammatical particles sufficiently numerous, to enable it to express most of these things; but this the genius of the language does not demand, even in the most diffuse style, while in the more elevated compositions it is not permissible.

The extraordinary, I believe it may be said, the unexampled richness of the Chinese is one of the great difficulties in the way of mastering it. Where there are two ideas nearly identical, yet distinctly differing by a shade, the possession of two words (the synonyms of our synonymous dictionaries) to express them, necessarily renders a language more expressive. In this respect the Chinese stands very high, the Manchu rather low. But of words expressing precisely the same idea (or *perfect* synonyms), the Chinese contains probably more than any other language, ancient or modern; a circumstance easily comprehended, when we consider that no other language has been spoken and written for so many ages, over so great an extent of country, by a race so numerous. Now apart from the consideration of the long course of reading it requires before the student has passed even the more common of these synonyms in review, and imprinted them on his memory, it is to be borne in mind that no little time is required to ascertain whether any two of the kind of words under discussion are perfect synonyms, or merely such as are popularly so called. Unimpeachable translations into a comparatively poorer language, like the translations into the Manchu made by the Imperial government, afford considerable assistance with reference to this point also.

It may not be superfluous to direct attention to the fact that all the above enumerated advantages to be

derived from a careful comparison of Manchu and Chinese texts are not available merely for these documents, of which versions in both languages are procurable: *the* great benefit is, that by such comparison, the student will gradually acquire a stock of information, an aptitude and an accuracy of judgment, otherwise scarcely attainable, and always applicable, for the right comprehension and translation of Chinese documents of which no Manchu versions exist.

So much for the utility of the Manchu, in so far as it throws light on the Chinese; in which respect it for the present more immediately concerns us. It must however not be forgotton that it is itself no dead language, but that of the dominant race in Central and Eastern Asia, by whom it is diligently cultivated. Proclamations are issued in it to the Manchu garrisons, stationed in most of the provincial capitals of China Proper, as also in those of Ele and Turkestan; and the addresses from generals of these garrisons to the Emperor, as well as their dispatches to the Military Board in Peking, with its answers, are almost entirely in Manchu. It would indeed have been impossible for a competent knowledge of the language to have been kept up among these hereditary garrisons of Manchus, settled as they have mostly been, in the midst of Chinese for five or six generations, had it not been for the fostering care of the Manchu Emperors. But all these, in their edicts, have constantly held up the knowledge of the Manchu as second in importance to their race, only to archery and horsemanship; the principle thus continually enunciated has been made the basis of many laws and regulations; and the study has latterly received a great impulse from the present Emperor Taukwang. In the 23d year of his reign (1843), an ordinance was issued whereby the

young Manchus of the garrisons in China, who are desirous of holding civil offices in the Empire, must pass examinations as interpreters of the Manchu and Chinese, instead of the usual ones in Chinese literature as they had previously done. The consequence of this is that the number of students of Manchu literature has greatly increased, and that the Four Books of Confucius are now committed to memory by them in that language.

Further, it must be considered that Manchuria, where this language is the mother tongue, though now closed to foreigners, will, in all human probability, be opened at no distant period to the mercantile enterprise of foreigners. The Chinese has indeed made considerable encroachments on the native language in the larger towns, particularly in those of the southern part of Manchuria, which lies along the gulf of Chili. These inroads are caused it seems by the influx of Chinese traders, and by the constant personal intercourse with Peking kept up by the mandarins. Their extent I have found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of exactness. The known facts bearing on the point are indeed so very few that I scarcely dare to make an inference. I am however inclined to believe that in the cities and towns alluded to, while the mandarins speak both the Manchu and the Chinese in purity, and the Chinese settlers use their own language only, the inhabitants generally speak a Manchu intermingled with a very great number of Chinese words, the whole forming a jargon analogous to the Frenchified German spoken over Germany by the upper classes from the time of Louis the Fourteenth until after the great French revolution; when a return to a pure language was effected. In the central and northern parts of Manchuria, as also in the more remote districts of the southern portion, I am inclined to believe the language of the

people to be Manchu, somewhat varied perhaps as to dialects, but unadulterated by any intermixture of the Chinese.*

I have in the above considered the subject, as the heading of the section required, from a strictly utilitarian point of view; but I may be allowed to add, that to the Christian philanthropists who are zealously pushing their operations to the remotest corners of the earth, the language of a country 700,000 square miles in extent, yet still a *terra incognita*, should cease to be a matter of neglect; and the man of philosophic tastes may be reminded that it is scarcely possible to learn any language without having disclosed to us some hitherto hidden phase of the human mind.

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* The Russians are careful to cultivate a knowledge of the Manchu. The treaty now in force between Russia and China was drawn up in the Manchu, Russian and Latin languages; and from many passages in the "Travels" of Timkowski, who accompanied the Russian mission to Peking in 1820, we see that constant use is made of the Manchu in the intercourse between the officials of the two nations.

FACILITIES FOR THE

ACQUISITION OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE.

Exclusive of Manchu texts, the facilities for the acquisition of the language consist, of course, of grammars and dictionaries. I subjoin a description of those I have been able to procure; the list includes all that are generally available either in China or Europe.

I.

The *Ching-wan Chi mûng,* 清文啟蒙 *Grammar of the Manchu language.*

This work is in the Chinese language. It was published in the beginning of the 8th year of Yûngchêng, corresponding to the end of A. D. 1729; and after a lapse of 120 years, remains unaltered, the standard, if not the only, work on the subject possessed by the Manchus in China. It is divided into four chapters.

The first treats of the letters and syllables, by combining which all the words in the language are composed; of their pronounciation; and of the manner of writing them: in other words of the orthography, and a portion of the prosody of the language.

The second chapter consists entirely of dialogues in the Manchu, interlined with a literal Chinese rendering.

The third chapter treats of the particles appended to verbs and nouns to form tenses, moods and cases, of the auxiliary verbs, the most common prepositions (post-positions), conjunctions, adverbs, &c.; it forms, in short, an imperfect treatise on the etymology and syntax of the Manchu language.

The fourth chapter contains first, a list of words in couplets, resembling each other orthographically, *i. e.* either in appearance or in sound, but having totally different meanings; secondly, a list of such as have resemblance in meaning without being exactly synonymous.

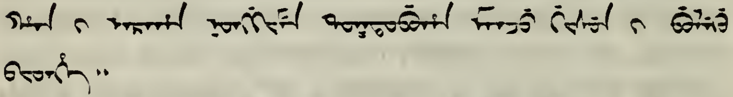
It will be seen from the above description, that the subjects treated of in the 2d and 4th chapters do not, strictly speaking, form any part of grammar; and hence that the 1st and 3d chapters only must be considered as referred to when the work is spoken of as a Grammar of the Manchu. Its characteristic feature, as compared with the grammars of European languages, especially those of late years, is the very unscientific treatment of the subject. It consists of a great collection of special rules, with hardly a single general principle. The memories of those who learn the language through it must in consequence be severely taxed. Let the reader imagine to himself an elementary work on the English language intended to take the place of a grammar, but making no mention whatever of the different kinds of words, as nouns, verbs, conjunctions, &c.; and consisting merely of a collection of grammatical words and particles, with a notice, usually rather vague and imperfect, of its uses appended to each, and a few examples following the most important; let him imagine these words and particles standing in the work in no particular order, alphabetical or otherwise, rendering reference exceedingly difficult; and he will have formed a tolerably correct notion of the Ching-wan Chi mûng. By "grammatical words and particles," I mean the most common prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs; the auxiliary verbs, *have*, *be*, *may*, *shall*, &c.; the particles *ing* and *ed*, used to form participles; the particle *ly* used to form adverbs; the particles *ment* and

tion used to form verbal nouns; and the particles *ab*, *in*, &c., prefixed to verbs to make new words of different meanings. In order to form some idea of the vagueness of the definitions in the Ching-wan Chi mûng, the reader has only to imagine an Englishman sitting down to explain the influence and uses of the words and particles just cited, after having been prohibited from employing the terms *verb*, *noun*, *adverb*, &c., &c.; the nomenclature of a classification totally unknown to the Manchus and Chinese. It is, however, a work of great value to the student, in spite of its many imperfections when considered as a "Grammar." The examples serve to eke out the deficiencies of the rules; and so far as it goes its authority is unimpeachable.

II.

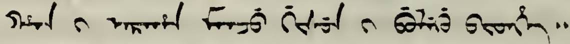
Mirror of the Manchu language by the Emperor, published with additions under Imperial superintendence.

御 製 增 訂 清 文 鑑



Ghan i aragha nong'kime t'ŏkt'ŏpugha Manchu kisun i p'uleku pitghe.

This is the title of a dictionary published at Peking in the end of the 36th year of Chienlûng, which corresponds with the beginning of 1772. It was based on an earlier, much less perfect work published in the 47th year of Kanghsi (1708), under the title of "Mirror of the Manchu language, by the Emperor."



*Ghan i aragha Manchu kisun i puleku pitghe.**

* The title of Chienlung's work has merely the two additional

To this Chienlûng added upwards of five thousand words and phrases, besides improving on it in many other respects, so that it has been completely superseded by the later work.

Chienlûng's "Mirror, &c.," which for shortness I shall call the Imperial Dictionary, consists of the preface of Kanghsi, the preface of Chiênlûng, and the collection of Manchu syllables, usually all bound in one volume; a table of the classes under which the words are arranged, forming a second volume; thirty-two chapters, in as many volumes, containing the words collected under Kanghsi; four supplementary chapters in four volumes, containing the additions of Chienlûng; eight chapters in eight volumes, containing an alphabetical index to the thirty-two chapters of Kanghsi; and one chapter in one volume, containing an alphabetical index to the four supplementary chapters of Chienlûng. Such is the work as originally published, but it is now accompanied by two "Additional Supplements," containing words newly collected or adopted, which were afterwards successively published, forming two short chapters, usually bound in one thin volume. The time when these "Additional Supplements" were published is not stated, but from a note in the supplemental "Collection of the Manchu," a work noticed further on, it appears that the last was issued subsequent to 1787. The printing is very inferior to that of the thirty-six principal chapters, which form throughout a fine specimen of typography.*

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words ᠨᠣᠩᡤᡳᠮᡝ ᡨᠣᡴᡨᠣᠪᡠᡥᠠ *nongkime t'ökt'opugha*, which together with ᡥᠠᠨ ᡳ *ghan i*, with which they are in construction, may be rendered, as in the text, by "published with additions under Imperial superintendence."

* I have deemed it useful to be somewhat minute in the description

In the Imperial Dictionary, the words are arranged in 292 *ghach'in*, or classes, all in each class having relation to one common idea. Thus the first class consists of astronomical terms, the second of those relating to times and seasons, the third of geographical terms; other classes are severally composed of legislative and administrative terms, of judicial and forensic terms, of terms relating to the punishments of criminals, of those relating to enmity, to friendship, to fear, to joy, to the different kinds of trades, to natural philosophy, &c., &c. This arrangement helps to define the words more exactly, carrying with it the advantage obtained in some of our European dictionaries by references to a numbered list of all the arts, sciences, professions, trades, &c., but it derogates very much from the value of the work in its quality of a book of reference. The Manchu words can, indeed, be found out by means of the index, but as the student when he succeeds in finding a word there is referred, not to a chapter and page, but to a class extending on an average over six pages, the whole operation of search is very tedious. As for the Chinese words, it is scarcely possible to find them, the student having no other plan than to look through all those classes in which, from the meaning of the word sought for, it was most likely to have been placed,

In this work, the synonymous Manchu ánd Chinese words, in large characters, face each other, the Manchu on the left, the Chinese on the right; on the left of the Manchu word is its pronunciation in small Chinese characters, on the right of the Chinese word its pronunciation in small Manchu letters; underneath these four columns, follows the explanation in Manchu alone and in

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of this work, because the copies which find their way from Peking into the provinces are frequently defective.

a small type. Though none of the verbal nouns or participles are given, the work contains upwards of 18,300 explained words and phrases, and forms the standard authority for the Manchu language; but it must be added that it unfortunately (after the fashion of the French dictionary of l'Académie Française) excludes as vulgar many useful and expressive words to be found in books not published under Imperial superintendence, and used orally in Manchuria.

III.

Collection of the Manchu.

清文彙書 ᠮᠠᠨᠵᡠ ᡳᠰᠠᠪᡠᡥᠠ ᠪᡳᡨᡥᡝ

Manchu isapugha pitghe.

This is a Manchu-Chinese dictionary, in which the words are arranged in the order of the Manchu syllables; it was published at Peking, and is divided into twelve chapters. The author, named Le Lingchi, states in his preface, dated in the 13th year of Chienlûng, A. D. 1750, that he compiled it from the Imperial Manchu-Chinese Dictionary published under the superintendence of Kanghsi. It is therefore incomplete, as all the words subsequently collected by Chienlûng, and published in his edition of the Imperial Dictionary, are wanting. In the "Collection of the Manchu," the Manchu word stands first, followed by the definition in the Chinese language alone, and usually in that style which may be called the familiar—that in which novels and plays are written. No attempt is made to give the pronunciation of the Manchu word in Chinese characters. The work has this advantage over the Imperial Dictionary, that besides giving the synonymous Chinese word, it generally shows, when this latter has two or three different senses, in *which* of the senses it is the synonym of the Manchu

word defined. This is of great service to the student who has not made sufficient progress to be able to read the Manchu definitions in the Imperial Dictionary.

The "Collection of the Manchu" has one defect which it is necessary those who use it should bear in mind: a number of words are generally found at the end of each section, which according to the order of the Manchu alphabet, ought to have been inserted at different places in the body of it. Thus in Chap. I, leaf 9, at the end of the very first section, that under the vowel *a*, there are nine words and phrases which ought to have been inserted in different places of the preceding eight leaves. Not finding them in their proper positions, the beginner is apt to conclude that they are not given at all.

IV.

Supplemental Collection of the Manchu.

清 文 補 彙

ᠮᠠᠨᠵᡠ ᡤᡳᠰᡠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠨᡳᠶᡝᠴᡝᠮᡝ ᡳᠰᠠᠪᡠᡥᠠ ᠪᡳᡨᡥᡝ᠉

Manchu kisun pe niyech'eme isapugha pitghe.

This is a supplement to the work last described, and its arrangement is similar. The author was E-hsing, also called E-kwei-pu, a member of the imperial family, and a vice-president of one of the Boards. In his preface, dated in the 51st year of Chienlûng, A. D. 1786, he states that his "Supplemental Collection" contains upwards of 7900 words, not in the original "Collection;" all of which additional words are either taken from Chienlûng's edition of the Imperial Dictionary, particularly the four Supplemental chapters, or from books published under Imperial superintendence. The authority is always given according to a plan explained in the beginning of the work.

I have been fortunate enough to obtain a more recent edition of the "Supplemental Collection" by Fakchingka, a son-in-law of E-hsing, published at Peking in the 7th year of Chiaching, A. D. 1802. It contains the new words in the two Additional Supplements to the Imperial Dictionary of Chienlûng, besides a few more words which had escaped the notice of previous collectors. One of these forms a striking illustration of the difficulty attendant on making a complete collection of the words in a language. This is ᠸᡝᡳᠯᡝ ᠠᡵᠠᠮᠪᡳ *weiile arampi*, "to punish crime," a very common term constantly occurring in the earliest edicts of the Manchu dynasty, but which had been overlooked by all the previous lexicographers, and that notwithstanding the care which the desire of pleasing their sovereigns must have impelled them to expend on their task.

V.

Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou François, par M. Amyot.

This work, published in Paris in three quarto volumes in 1789–1790, contains the Manchu words and phrases of the "Collection of the Manchu," with a translation of the Chinese explications into French. No attempt was made by the translator M. Amyot, or the Parisian editor Langlès, to improve on the original, either by a reärrangement of the Manchu words, or by the introduction of such as are wanting. It has therefore the defect I pointed out in describing the original work: a number of words are to be found at the end of almost every section which ought to have been entered at different places in the body of it. A much more serious defect, which it has in common with the original, is the absence of all the 7900 words and phrases contained in the "Supplemental Collection," some of which are to be found in almost every leaf of Manchu books. Hence,

even if the French explications had been faithful counterparts of the Chinese, this dictionary, unfortunately the only one in a European language, would have been but a poor help to the acquisition of the Manchu. But a great number of the French explications are by no means correct renderings of the originals. Amyot himself says in his preface: "I had no other object in undertaking this laborious work than to place myself in position to dispense with the assistance of learned Chinese in order to read and understand their books; because these books, or nearly all of them, are translated into Manchu. Without therefore, pausing long to find the French word corresponding to the Manchu word, I contented myself with translating the Chinese explication, when I was ignorant of the proper word, or when such word did not at once occur to me." From this we may draw the conclusion that Amyot knew but little of the Chinese when he made the translation, a conclusion fully corroborated by a comparison of the original with his work. I found in the latter so many inaccuracies that I have never opened it for purposes of study since I got a copy of the former.

He who proposes learning the Manchu through Amyot's dictionary, without the assistance of the Chinese, would, consequently, do well to make himself thoroughly master of all the Manchu texts of which translations exist in European languages,* before proceding to others. After that a long course of reading, and the collation of different passages will enable him to discover the

* Apart from those in the present volume, a number of translated texts will be found in the "Chrestomathie Mandchou" of Klaproth; in addition to which may be mentioned Rémusat's translation of l'Invariable Milieu."

meaning of unexplained words and supply the deficiencies left by Amyot and Langlès. This task will be very much lightened, if he is able to get the use of a copy of the Imperial Dictionary, the Manchu definitions in which he will, after no great length of time, be able to comprehend.

VI.

Grammaire Tartare-Mandchou, par M. Amyot.

This is, according to Langlès, Gabelentz, and others, merely a translation of a grammar in Latin by P. Gerbillon, published in Paris in 1696, no copy of which has come under my observation. The French version was published in Paris in 1787. This grammar is evidently the work of a person who had a good knowledge of the Manchu, but who wrote hastily, neither stopping to find the most concise and comprehensive language for his rules, nor to arrange his rules methodically. The publication of Gabelentz's Grammar has rendered this no longer absolutely necessary to the student; still, he within whose reach it is, would do well to give it a perusal, as it throws light on one or two points, on which Gabelentz has either not been sufficiently explicit, or which he has left altogether unnoticed.

VII.

Élémens de la Grammaire Mandchoue, par H. Conon de la Gabelentz. Altenbourg, 1832.

This work has been written with great care, and is scientific both in its definitions and its arrangement. The author says in his preface, that it was not in his power to make use of the *Ching-wân Chi mûng*, the Manchu grammar written in Chinese; which accounts for certain points being left unnoticed, that might have been touched on with advantage to the student. It seems to me, too, that the various forms under which the verbs

appear, might have been handled in a way more consonant to their real nature. Of the necessity for some different treatment, the author himself appears to have been aware; for, after observing, that in Manchu "the verbs differ essentially from the idea that we form of them by the study of European languages," he specially warns the student against attaching the ordinary signification to the terms *present*, *future* or *infinitive*; of which, he says, he only availed himself in the absence of other more suitable expressions. But in absence of suitable terms, it would surely have been best to have adopted entirely new ones, accurately corresponding with those relations of time and mood really embraced by the respective forms. For, to learn, and remember the signification of such new terms, would certainly require much less mental effort on the part of the student, than he is obliged to exercise in order to keep constantly forgetting, that the word *present* means 'present time,' the word *future*, 'future time.' These are, however, no very serious defects in a work unusually complete in its kind, and which ought to be in the hands of every student of the Manchu—those not excepted who are able to study it through the Chinese.

TRANSLATIONS.

IMPERIAL EDICTS.

I.

Edict encouraging Memorials to the Throne.

On the 29th day of the 6th month of the 1st year of Yungchêng, the following Imperial edict was issued:

Those Bannermen,* who act as provincial officers are constantly oppressed by the commanders and lieutenants of their respective Banners, who, on the approach of the appointment of officers, extort from them, from the superintendants of finance, criminal judges, and intendants, down to the district magistrates, a large amount of property before they will issue the letters of recommendation, and send them to the [proper] Board; and after they have got vacancies, send people to the places where the offices are situated, who either allege protection given at ordinary times,† and ask for

* The Manchus in China are not under the authority of the officers and courts by whom the Chinese people are governed, but under that of the chief officers of the Eight Banners under which they are enrolled. The colors of four of these Banners are yellow, white, red, and blue; those of the other four, the same colors with a border of white or red. Three of the Banners, the yellow, the bordered yellow, and the white, are more immediately under the control of the Emperor, the other five under that of the princes and dukes appointed by him. The general name *bannerman*, which I have adopted, is a literal translation of the Manchu and Chinese terms.

† This refers to protection given by the commanders and lieutenants to the interests of the officers at times prior to their appointment to the posts they hold when the demands are made on them.

recompense; or state that family affairs of a joyful or sorrowful nature* have occurred, and ask for assistance in the exigence; or lay hold of secret affairs of former days, and make extortions by intimidation.

As to the princes† in charge of the Five Banners, they have no consideration for the circumstances of those below them, but make excessive extortions, or let the high officers of their establishments make greedy demands at their pleasure. The enumeration of their extortions of every description would be endless. This state of things has led to the officers under their control exhausting their means to send in gifts, and rendered them unable to keep themselves pure and good; and from this the cashiering of officers on account of their

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* This refers to births, deaths, marriages, &c., on which occasions the Manchus and Chinese usually go to expenses, according to our notions, quite out of proportion to their incomes.

† The word in the original is *wang*, being the sound of the Chinese word 王 which the Manchus have adopted. It has not unfrequently been rendered by *king;* but this is a much less appropriate translation, especially when a dignitary of the present day is referred to, than the other rendering, *prince*, followed here. *Wang* is a title given commonly by the Chinese to the brothers and fraternal nephews of the Emperors, to the hereditary heads of some branches of the Imperial house, which were of importance at the time of the conquest of China, and to the rulers of some of the Mongol tribes; even the latter of which three classes have not the slightest pretension to that independent sovereignty implied by the word *King*. It is true that of the Chinese invariably apply it (unless when conversing with a foreigner who chooses to check them) to the sovereigns of the European kingdoms, in common with those of Siam, Cochin-china, Corea, &c.; but this is only a consequence of the Chinese idea as to the supremacy of their sovereign over all other potentates; who may possibly, some of them, refuse to admit this supremacy, but are then really rebels against the authority of their legitimate superior, however able they may be to support their pretensions by arms.

having fallen into the crime of embezzling the national revenue, has all arisen.

Henceforth, if such abuses as arbitrary extortion continue to exist, let any officer concerned inclose a memorial based on the facts, and communicate it secretly to the Governor-general, or Governor, of the province, that he may memorialize me on his behalf; and let the Governor-general, or Governor, immediately make a secret memorial based on his statement. Should the Governor-general and Governor connive at and conceal the offense, let the officer send his memorial inclosed to the Board of Censors, that they may secretly memorialize in his behalf; and if some of its members will not memorialize and bring the matter to my notice for him, let any of the Censors make a secret memorial based on the letter which is sent in exposing the facts. [In every case] let the circumstances of those below not fail to be made known, and the old standing abuse to be eradicated. Bannermen holding offices in the provinces need not endure it from dread. I will certainly not punish them for the crime of self-accusation [in cases] of offenses committed against superiors. An especial edict.

II.

Edict requiring Officers to be examined.

On the 21st day of the 3d month of the 5th year of Yungchêng, the following Imperial edict was issued to the Civil-official, Military, and Criminal Boards:

The morality of the mandarins of Mukten is at a low standard; they search out secrets with the view of intriguing, and, forming combinations, gain possession of the property of others. This is most disreputable. Al-

though they have been again and again admonished, still there is no alteration. All this is the result of those who have suffered punishment* in consequence of having violated the laws, and after having been denounced and cashiered, continuing to live there; where they constantly create troubles, cause injury to the country, seduce people to do evil, and proceed to every extreme [in their bad course]. If these depraved people are not immediately removed, I shall not succeed in my wish to renovate the public manners.

Henceforth, of the Manchu, Mongol, and naturalized Manchu,† civil and military officers dwelling at Mukten, those who are punished in consequence of having fallen into errors in public affairs, shall be made to dwell there as before; but as to those who have been degraded or cashiered in consequence of having committed crimes, such as embezzlement or defalcation of the revenue, avaricious intriguing, or extortion by intimidation; the circumstances of the crimes committed by them will be taken into consideration, and they will either be caused to come to Peking, and return to the locality of their Banner,‡ or will be settled at the stations of the Manchu garrisons in the provinces. As the depraved will [then] gradually become few, the bad morals of Mukten may be eradicated.

You three Boards, henceforth, whenever cases of

* "Punishment" as an unofficial person. This must be preceded by cashiering in the case of a mandarin, who, as such, can not be subjected to it.

† The "naturalized" Manchus are composed of the descendants of those Chinese who joined the Manchus, and assisted them in the conquest of China. They are enrolled under eight "Banners," and are governed by the same laws as the rest of the Bannermen.

‡ Each of the Eight Banners has a quarter specially allotted to it in Peking, in the Inner (or northern city).

crime committed by Mukten mandarins may occur, pass sentence in accordance herewith. Further, find out those Banner officers at Mukten who have been cashiered in former cases of crimes, such as embezzlement of the revenue, avaricious intriguing, and extortion by intimidation, and report them to me.

III.

Edict in Relation to the Study of Manchu.

In the 10th month of the 26th year of Chienlûng, the following Imperial edict was issued :

Four of the officers of the Board of Dependencies,* who introduced [those who appeared] at the audience of to-day, were not only all little versed in the speaking of Manchu, but there were even some of them totally unable to speak it. These are all Manchu officers, and the business they manage consists of cases in the Manchu language. Will it then do if they are totally unable to speak Manchu ? How will they in such cases manage their business ? When I consider this, I am inclined to apprehend that those officers of other Boards and Yamuns,† who are unable to speak Manchu are still more numerous.

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* Lit. " Board which governs the outer provinces." In Chinese it is called " Li Fan Yuên," and is the Board through which the Chinese dependencies in Central Asia are governed. It is sometimes entitled " Foreign Office," because it is the medium of official intercourse with Russia, and with the states to the west and south of the Chinese territories.

† From this and several other examples in these papers it will be observed that the Manchus have adopted the Chinese word 衙門 *ya-mun*, the use of which in the English language I have recommended in another work. The Manchus use it to express the Chinese 院 *yuên* also.

To speak the Manchu language is an old rule of the Bannermen. Hence they ought to regard it as most important, to give it the first place, and exert themselves strenuously to learn it. If they do not exert themselves strenuously to learn it, they will become unfamiliar with it: which will assuredly not suit.

All this is the result of the superior officers not regarding it as an important affair. Now, formerly, the officers of the Boards and Yamuns, when speaking to their superiors, all spoke Manchu; at present they have, by the gradual course of affairs, altogether ceased speaking it. If the superior officers would really be careful to examine their subordinates; if they would induce those who are good at speaking the Manchu to exert themselves to become still better at it; if they would admonish those who are, on the other hand, little versed in it; if they would cause them to practice speaking it, and prevent them from forsaking the old rule: why should they be unable to attain to excellence?

Let this matter be handed over to the superior officers of the Boards and Yamuns, who will in future be very careful to act in accordance herewith; in addition to which, on the examination of the officers of the capital next year, those who are recommended to the first class must be perfect in the Manchu language as well as good at the transaction of business. If there are such as can not speak Manchu, although said to be good at the transaction of every kind of business, they must not be entered among the number.

If they do not thus recommend them, and on the arrival of the time of audience, there are still some who can not speak Manchu, I will hold the respective superior officers alone answerable.

IV.

Edict requiring united Investigation.

On the 24th day of the 9th month of the 33d year of Chienlûng, the following Imperial edict was issued:

The Cabinet-council have, after examination, presented their report on the investigation made by the Department* in the Board of Civil Office for the Scrutiny of Services, into the law on the punishment of the provincial literary chancellors; in which report they have stated, that "when affairs are investigated, the Manchu officers of the Department take no part in the business." This shows that hitherto the transaction of business has been faulty.

When the Boards and Yamuns undertake the management of affairs, the Manchu and Chinese officers of the Departments jointly discuss them, attach their signatures to the documents, and cause the resolutions to be acted on. But if in the investigation of old cases recorded in Chinese, the Manchu officers do not take part in the business; by fully following out this rule, the Chinese officers will certainly also learn to evade the cases recorded in the Manchu language. And if a distinction is made between the two parties, and the Manchu and Chinese officers each separately manage their own cases, the evils of partial connivance and patronage will grow up in these matters. The beginning of this must not be left unguarded against.

Now as it was only because I issued an edict, and inquired into this case of the Board of Civil Office that I came aware of the bad custom of their following

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* The six Boards at Peking are subdivided into a number of departments or offices (in Chinese 司 *sï*) each having special charge of a part of the business of the Board to which it is subordinate.

one in the track of the other, I fear that in the various Boards and Yamuns there are not a few who are similar. Henceforth, whether the cases of the different Boards and Yamuns are recorded in Manchu or in Chinese, let in each case a Manchu and a Chinese officer of the Ddepartment be specially appointed jointly to investigate and manage it. Let this be made law.

V.

Edict prohibiting Inferiors visiting their Superior Officers.

On the 27th day of the 10th month of the 34th year of Chiênlung, the following Imperial edict was issued:

Those Bannermen under the control of the princes and dukes who are mandarins in Peking, have hitherto, when annual festivals and birthdays have occurred, gone and prostrated themselves (performed the kotow) at the establishments of their superiors. So far this is proper, and within the duties of their stations. But when they have once obtained a provincial post, each has public business in such post; and since, under these circumstances suspicions easily arise, every one ought to be on his guard.

Some time back, in consequence of the princes and dukes constantly extorting money from the officers under their control who held provincial posts, an Imperial edict was issued in which they were rigorously admonished and the practice prohibited. And during these few years the princes and dukes have all manifested obedience to the laws, and due regard for themselves: they have been afraid, and have not violated the law. But of those officers who come to Peking on public business, there are still many who go as formerly to make visits, and pay their respects; and though at present, there may be no intimate connection or dancing of attendance, yet after the practice has continued for a

long period, perhaps the princes and dukes, ceasing to feel dread of the consequences, will not only cause them to pay visits, but will certainly beg them to procure things [for themselves]; and will not only cause them to procure things, but will certainly take the opportunity to engage them secretly to discuss affairs. And when they, proceeding still further than this, have lost sight of the public good to attend to their private interests, and the abuse has become established, the consequences to the rules of official conduct, and to the principles of the Imperial House, will be most serious. For this reason a distinct warning is given, that gradual encroachments may be put a stop to, and the first small inroads guarded against; which is precisely what insures perfect security in advance.

A short time ago when I summoned to an audience at my traveling camp, the river intendant of Yungting, Mampôô, he reported to me that he was a subordinate of the fourth Imperial prince, and ought to go to make his prostrations before him. Now it seems to me that laws begin with the near; and that one case should be made prominent in order to be a rule for the rest. Henceforth, of the subordinates of the princes and dukes, those who are Peking mandarins, are, as heretofore, not prohibited from frequenting the establishments of their superiors; but all those mandarins holding provincial posts, who, having business, come to Peking, are prohibited from going to pay their respects, and make prostrations to the princes and dukes their superiors, in order to purify the sources of evil. Let this be law. Should there be such as will still not become alive to a feeling of dread and repentance, and who perhaps, in the course of time, again act as of old; as soon as the matter comes to light, I will, besides se-

verely punishing the officers in question, also punish in like manner the princes and dukes concerned. I will certainly not show the least lenity. Let this be generally proclaimed.

SACRED EDICT.

Warning against concealment of deserters, as a preventive of implication in punishment.

In nourishing and governing the myriads of people, I, uniting all in the empire, make them as one house, and, collecting the myriads of families, make them as one body; people at the seat of government, and people of the provinces, Bannermen and Chinese, there is in fact no difference in regarding them. By the laws fixed at the establishment of our dynasty, the officers and men of the Eight Banners, if they are at the seat of government protect the capital, if they are at a distance form the garrisons in the provinces. If there be such as do not serve our house, but go secretly to other places, then they become deserters, and by the law their crime is rigorously punished. If at the place to which the deserters repair, the public of the locality, military and people, make no investigation, but themselves allow them to remain, they will suffer punishment with them. If we examine into the malpractices attendant on the concealment of deserters, we find that generally speaking they are embraced by two classes. In the minds, manners, and language of all deserters, there is constantly much that is cunning and specious; and people, either being taken with their impositions and lies, and unable to distinguish that they are deserters, negligently allow them to remain; or else, being taken with their wealth, they, though distinctly knowing them to be deserters, combine with and conceal them.

Between the master and the slave, stands as a bond of union, the great principle of fidelity. The deserter is therefore a man who, having been guilty of ingratitude to his master, has turned his back on fidelity; and those who have harbored him, have sheltered the faithless and slighted the laws of the state. And since deserters rely only on the houses which conceal them as quiet resting-places for their persons, how is it possible for the law to be lenient! Hence by the law made in the 5th year of Shunchi, the man who harbored a deserter was sentenced to decapitation, his property was confiscated, and the neighboring overseers of ten houses were all transported to places on the distant borders. On fixing the laws in the 15th year of Kanghsi, it was enacted that all principals who have harbored deserters should be transported for life, and that the neighboring overseers of ten houses on both sides, should suffer a punishment not exceeding bambooing with temporary transportation; which proceeded from the tender love of Our sacred Progenitor the Emperor Benevolent* to the undiscerning people, and from his desire to deal lightly with doubted guilt, having caused him to alter the law so as to be lenient. Again, of late years, in the Imperial edicts proclaiming grace, the crimes in deserter's cases have been entirely pardoned. This display, by the Court, of benevolence beyond the law, and this making lenient of the statutes on the search and apprehension of offenders, proceeds from the desire that you, the military and people, may, after changing your evil dispositions, and turning towards uprightness—forsaking the bad and drawing near to the good—every one attend to the duties of his poor station, live in content-

* The posthumous title of the Emperor Kanghsi.

ment, and enjoy the happiness of an untroubled and peaceful life.

Ye, the military and people, ought therefore to meet my sacred Progenitor's wishes in admonishing you, and my high views in addressing you: render yourselves attentive, and obedient to instruction; walk in the path of reason and maintain the laws; do not associate with idle loiterers, nor with scoundrels; do not engage in dangerous enterprises, nor enter into speculative adventures; do not connive at illicit affairs, nor violate the laws of the country; do not, in seeking after small gains, forget your person and family. As in this way there will be no trouble in the country, as neighbors will live in peace, as the agents of government will not come to disturb you, and as [even] your fowls and dogs will be without fear; we may succeed in witnessing the accomplishment of that state of civilization in which the punishments of the state shall cease to exist! But if any one should, though the laws have been made lenient, still continue to act illicitly, strive for bribes, conceal the wicked, and entertain traitors; as he will of his own self have committed crime, how can the course of justice be wrested in order to pardon him! Further, deserters, being by nature all stupid and vicious, and having no way of gaining a livelihood, engage in scoundrelly affairs of every kind: if on a grand scale, they become thieves; if on a small scale, they gamble; and, as they violate the laws and statutes, when once these matters come to light, how can those who have received and kept them escape from the business, and avoid falling into punishment? In the Book of Changes, it is said: "Will those who consort with the wicked not suffer by it?" And it has been said by An-tsi: "The superior man in establishing his dwelling is always

choice in his neighbors, with the view of avoiding misfortunes." From this we can perceive, that even honest and good men can be involved in trouble by villains and disorderly loiterers. My wish is: Let those among you who are fathers warn their children; those who are elder brothers warn their younger brothers; the commanders of the military warn the troops; the superiors of districts warn the people in their districts. Then as every one, respectfully attending to the words of instruction, will depart from unfaithfulness, there will be no trouble in the country, and as the local customs will become simple and good; what ground will there be to feel anxious about the unexpected occurrence of implication in punishment!

PROCLAMATION.

Proclamation of the General of the Kwangchóu Bannermen issued on the subject of placing the artillery camp in charge of the lieutenant-colonels who are to command it.

WHEREAS, in the 11th month of the current year, a camp will be established at the locality of Yentang* for practicing with artillery, with the special view of maintaining the country in tranquillity by spreading abroad the fame of the power of the Manchu garrisons. The officers and soldiers appointed to the artillery camp ought each to exert himself with unusual diligence to manage the affairs intrusted to him, and to have the military weapons required clean and in good order. There must not be the least inattention or negligence. When the troops have finished exercising with the guns, let them be made to belt on swords, and keep guard with the utmost attention at the places that require to be guarded, which they must not leave for an instant.

Further, at present it is precisely the winter season, when the wind is strong and everything dry; and since tents will be raised throughout the camp, fires must be regarded as important, and unusual care taken where attention and care are required.

Again, there may be among the troops foolish men,

* This place is situated about three miles to the northwest of the Foreign Factories, near the left bank of the most northerly branch of the river.

who, going into the villages of the neighboring people in the vicinity of the artillery camp, may roam about there, possess themselves at pleasure of the people's property and stir up troubles: all which is quite possible. With this matter I charge the lieutenant-colonels, who will strictly control them. Let the troops be mustered once every day in the evening, and the circumstance of the number being complete or otherwise reported to me. I myself will besides appoint from time to time an officer to go and examine into the matter. Should there notwithstanding be persons of this kind, as soon as they shall have been apprehended, I will severely beat and will dismiss from the service the soldiers implicated; besides which I will at the same time punish the officers under whose command they are. I will most certainly not leniently pardon them. I therefore charge you, the lieutenant-colonels of the artillery camp to communicate my commands to the officers and troops that they may alike act in obedience thereto. For this reason I have issued a proclamation.

Taukwang, 28th year, 11th month, 1st day (26th December, 1848).

A MEMORIAL.

The slave, T'ôntungka,* kneels and memorializes† on his respectfully performing prostrations (the kotow) for the Divine favor (the emperor's favor).

On the 21st day of the 3d month of the current year, I received a dispatch from the Cabinet-council, to the following effect:

"We have respectfully received the following Imperial edict, issued on the 10th inst.: 'Place T'ôntungka in the vacancy of Lieutenant-general of the Bannermen of Kwangchôu.'"

I, your Majesty's slave, humbly conceive that I, one of the Manchu hereditary slaves, am, by the nature bestowed on me, dull of intellect. Now Kwangtung is an important part of the country lying along the sea, the post to which I am appointed is weighty, and the business belonging to it extensive; hence I can only exhaust my stupid honesty, and use great diligence in exercising the troops, and in guarding against dangers, with the view of endeavoring to make a slight return for your Majesty's high and bountiful grace.

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* This is the name of the present second lieutenant-general of the Canton Bannermen.

† When in these translations the verb *memorialize* is used intransitively, i. e. without an object, it must be understood to mean "the addressing of the Emperor by a high officer." The Manchu word is ᠸᡝᠰᡳᠮᠪᡠᠮᡝ *wesimpume*, synonymous with the Chinese *tsôu*.

It is proper that I write a memorial setting forth these my poor but sincere feelings of gratitude; which [memorial] I entreat Your Sacredness* to enlighten with your glance. On this account I have respectfully memorialized.

Taukwang, 27th year, 3d month (May, 1847).

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* The Manchu word might also be rendered "Holiness." The title, by its close resemblance, reminds us of that given to the Pope.

ESSAY.

"*Diligent in affairs, cautious in language.*"*

BOASTING in speech being easy, we ought to be ashamed [of much talk]; completeness in action being difficult, we ought to surpass [our words by our deeds].

If there are such as fear not the surpassing of their actions by their language, and are fond of careless boasting; who strive not after the surpassing of their language by their actions, and neglect the fulfillment of their words; as their talk will be much, their actions few, could the attempt to cause them to attain perfection fail to be difficult!

The superior man alone keeps in mind the being cautious in language; he is ashamed of vain talking, and does not speak too much: he keeps in mind the being prompt in action; he strives to surpass in all his deeds, and does not fall short. Then what cause is there to be anxious about his language not gradually decreasing, his actions not gradually increasing!

Speech and action are at bottom connected with, and throw light on each other. If, in the beginning, language is reserved, the actions will be more real; and in the end, after the actions have been effected, the language will naturally correspond. If a man can adopt

* This text is an extract from a passage in the 論語 Lun Yu, in which Confucius specifies some of the qualities of the 君子 *kiun tsz*, or the "superior man."

the mind of the superior man, as in that case his actions can be extolled, there will be no reason why his language also should not be famed.

When under the Yu dynasty, words were addressed to the Emperor by the Yamuns, he failed not to examine clearly into their services;* when Confucius heard a man's words, he failed not to observe his actions:† which is precisely the idea here treated of.

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* This is a quotation from the 書經 Shoo King. The services were examined into to see if they corresponded with what had been said of them in the words addressed to the Emperor.

† This is from a passage of the Lun Yu 論語, where Confucius says that at one time he believed men would act as the promised, but that now he looked to their deeds.

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